

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 BONN 02190

LIMDIS

GENEVA FOR CSCE DEL

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, EEC, PARM, NATO, FR, GW

SUBJECT: FRANCO-GERMAN SUMMIT CONSULTATIONS: CSCE AND
GENERAL POLITICAL SUBJECTS

REFS: (A) BONN 2018, (B) BONN 2114

BEGIN SUMMARY: THE FRANCO-GERMAN SUMMIT CONSULTATIONS
DEVOTED CONSIDERABLE ATTENTION TO CSCE MATTERS. THE TWO
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GOVERNMENTS AGREED TO SUPPORT ONE ANOTHER IN ACHIEVING

EACH'S MAIN DESIDERATUM IN BASKET III. THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT MADE THE SOMEWHAT SURPRISING SUGGESTION THAT CBM'S BE DISCUSSED IN THE MBFR NEGOTIATIONS, BUT AGREED TO STAY IN STEP WITH THE REST OF THE EC-9 ON THIS ISSUE. END SUMMARY

1. FONOFF POLITICAL DIRECTOR VAN WELL BRIEFED THE AMBASSADOR ON THE POLITICAL ASPECTS OF THE JUST CONCLUDED FRANCO-GERMAN SEMI-ANNUAL SUMMIT CONSULTATIONS. ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF THESE CONSULTATIONS HAVE BEEN COVERED IN REF A WHILE MIDDLE EAST AND EURO-ARAB DIALOGUE ASPECTS WERE REPORTED IN REF B. LIKE REF B, THIS TELEGRAM CONCERNS VAN WELL'S REMARKS ABOUT THE DISCUSSION BETWEEN FOREIGN MINISTERS GENSCHER AND SAUVAGNARGUES THAT WERE LATER PRESENTED TO SCHMIDT AND GISCARD AT THE PLENARY SESSIONS.

2. CSCE. VAN WELL STATED THAT THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT WAS FIRMLY BEHIND THE FRG ON THE SUBJECT OF PEACEFUL CHANGE WHICH FRANCE AGREED HAS A EUROPEAN ASPECT. THUS IT WILL SUPPORT THE TEXT CABLED JULY 26. AS FAR AS BASKET III IS CONCERNED, THE FRG HAD EXPRESSED DISSATISFACTION WITH THE CURRENT STATE OF NEGOTIATIONS REGARDING WORKING CONDITIONS FOR JOURNALISTS. THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT, FOR ITS PART, SAID IT WAS DISSATISFIED WITH THE CURRENT STATE OF NEGOTIATIONS REGARDING CULTURAL MATTERS. THE TWO GOVERNMENTS HAD AGREED TO SUPPORT EACH OTHER IN ACHIEVING THESE TWO BASKET III GOALS.

AS FOR TIMING, SAUVAGNARGUES HAD EXPRESSED THE HOPE THAT STAGE III MIGHT BE CONCLUDED BY THE END OF JUNE. GENSCHER HAD SAID THAT IT MIGHT BE FALL BEFORE THIS OCCURRED. WHILE THE FRG WOULD LIKE AN EARLIER CONCLUSION, IT WOULD NOT WISH TO SPEED UP NEGOTIATIONS AT THE EXPENSE OF SUBSTANCE. THE TWO GOVERNMENTS AGREED THAT A DECISION AS TO THE LEVEL OF REPRESENTATION AT STAGE III MUST AWAIT THE FINAL OUTCOME OF THE NEGOTIATIONS; HOWEVER, THEY ALSO AGREED THAT IT IS PRACTICALLY CERTAIN THAT REPRESENTATION WILL BE AT THE HIGHEST LEVEL. CONFIDENTIAL

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VAN WELL DISCUSSED CBM'S IN SOME DETAIL, REPEATING THE ARGUMENTS GENSCHER USED WITH SAUVAGNARGUES BUT ALSO ADDRESSING THEM TO AMBASSADOR HILLENBRAND. HE SAID THAT THE FRG CONSIDERS IT IMPORTANT THAT THE WEST ACHIEVE SOME RESULTS IN THIS AREA. CBM'S ARE NOT OF GREAT MILITARY SIGNIFICANCE. OUR REAL GOAL IS TO ESTABLISH THE POINT THAT NO ZONE IS SACROSANCT. THE

DETAILS OF WHAT THE USSR AGREES TO IS NOT IMPORTANT,
BUT THE PRINCIPLE THAT THERE ARE NO SPECIAL ZONES IS.
FOREIGN MINISTER GENSCHER FEELS THAT THIS SHOULD BE OUR
MAJOR CONCERN IN THE NEGOTIATIONS. WHILE THE FRG
BELIEVES THAT ALL OF EUROPE SHOULD BE INCLUDED, IT IS
READY TO TAKE OUT THOSE PARTS OF THE USSR AND TURKEY
WHICH ADJACENT TO OTHER CONTINENTS.

VAN WELL SAID THAT SAUVAGNARGUES HAD SHOWN AT
PARIS THAT HE WAS NOT EAGER TO PRESS THE CBM ISSUE.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 03 BONN 02190

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SAUVAGNARGUES HAD SUGGESTED TO GENSCHER THAT THE ISSUE BE DROPPED COMPLETELY. RATHER THAN MIXING POLITICAL AND MILITARY NEGOTIATIONS IN CSCE, SAUVAGNARGUES FELT THAT CBM'S COULD BE TAKEN UP IN THE MBFR NEGOTIATIONS IN VIENNA. DESPITE SAUVAGNARGUES' RESERVATIONS, HE HAD EXPRESSED HIS WILLINGNESS TO REFLECT OVER GENSCHER'S VIEWS. IN ANY CASE SAUVAGNARGUES WOULD SUPPORT THE POSITION AGREED TO BY THE EC-9 EVEN IF FRANCE WERE UNWILLING TO TAKE A LEADING ROLE IN DOING SO.

3. MBFR. AMBASSADOR HILLENBRAND NOTED THAT IT WAS
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CURIOUS THAT SAUVAGNARGUES HAD SUGGESTED THAT CBM'S BE TAKEN UP IN VIENNA WHEN THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT DOES NOT PARTICIPATE IN THE MBFR NEGOTIATIONS THERE. VAN WELL AGREED THAT THIS APPEARED STRANGE. VAN WELL ADDED THAT SAUVAGNARGUES HAD ALSO SAID THAT THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT WAS WILLING TO DISCUSS MBFR BILATERALLY WITH THE FRG.

4. POST CSCE. VAN WELL NOTED THAT THE TWO FOREIGN MINISTERS HAD DISCUSSED WHAT APPEARED TO BE SOVIET PLANS FOR THE POST-CSCE PERIOD. APPARENTLY THE USSR INTENDS TO PUBLICIZE ITS INTERPRETATION OF THE CSCE NEGOTIATIONS; FOR EXAMPLE, BY USING THE FORUM OF THE PROPOSED CONFERENCE OF EUROPEAN COMMUNIST PARTIES. THE FRENCH AND GERMAN GOVERNMENTS AGREED THAT THE WEST SHOULD PREPARE ITSELF WITHIN THE NINE AND WITHIN NATO TO PRESENT OUR VIEWS AS TO WHAT HAD BEEN AGREED TO IN CSCE. THE WESTERN VIEW MUST BE COORDINATED.

VAN WELL NOTED THAT THE SUBJECT OF HOW TO DO THIS HAS ALREADY BEEN DISCUSSED WITH SECRETARY KISSINGER. ONE POSSIBILITY IS A WESTERN SUMMIT MEETING ON THE WAY TO HELSINKI. ANOTHER IS TO USE THE JUNE MEETING OF THE NATO MINISTERIAL COUNCIL FOR THIS PURPOSE. HOWEVER, SINCE WE DON'T KNOW FOR SURE WHEN STAGE III OF THE CSCE NEGOTIATIONS WILL BE CONCLUDED, IT IS DIFFICULT TO SET A SPECIFIC DATE FOR SUCH A COORDINATION OF VIEWS.

5. EC-9 COOPERATION. VAN WELL MADE THE GENERAL OBSERVATION THAT IT WAS VERY CLEAR THAT THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT IS ANXIOUS TO STAY IN TANDEM WITH THE FRG WITHIN THE EC-9 .. THIS WAS TRUE EVEN IN THE MOST CONTROVERSIAL FIELDS SUCH AS AGRICULTURE WHERE NO AGREEMENT HAD AS YET BEEN REACHED. THERE WAS A MUTUAL RESOLVE TO ARRIVE SOON AT AN AGREEMENT AND TO MAKE THE NECESSARY COMPROMISES IN ORDER TO DO SO.

6. ENERGY. SUPPLEMENTING THE REMARKS MADE BY ECONOMICS
MINISTRY DIRECTOR EVERLING REPORTED IN REF A, VAN WELL
SAID THAT THERE HAD BEEN VIRTUAL AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE
FRENCH AND GERMAN GOVERNMENTS THAT ALL OF THE PRE-
CONDITIONS FOR A PRELIMINARY MEETING BETWEEN PRODUCER
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AND CONSUMER COUNTRIES HAD BEEN MET. INVITATIONS TO
ATTEND THIS PRELIMINARY MEETING WILL BE ISSUED AFTER
HARMONIZATION WITH THE U.S. THE FRENCH WILL ISSUE THE
INVITATIONS AND CHAIR THE MEETING, BUT PLAY NO SUB-
STANTIVE ROLE IN THE DISCUSSIONS. THE PRESIDENCY WILL
REPRESENT THE COMMUNITY AND ALL NINE MEMBER COUNTRIES,
AND IT WILL SPEAK WITH ONE VOICE AT THE MEETING. THE
PRESIDENCY WILL BE ASSISTED BY INDIVIDUALS FROM EACH
GOVERNMENT.

7. EAST-WEST RELATIONS. THE EFFECTS ON DETENTE OF

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 03 OF 03 BONN 02190

LIMDIS

THE USSR'S SUSPENSION OF ITS TRADE AGREEMENT WITH THE U.S. WAS DISCUSSED. BOTH GOVERNMENTS FELT THAT THE USSR WOULD PURSUE THE GENERAL COURSE OF DETENTE AND THAT THE SUSPENSION WAS AN ISOLATED EVENT. BREZHNEV'S FUTURE WAS IMPORTANT BUT WOULD NOT BE DECISIVE IN THIS REGARD. THE POLITBUREAU HAD APPROVED THE DETENTE POLICY STEP-BY-STEP. THE FRENCH VIEW WAS THAT THE TRADE AGREEMENT SUSPENSION WAS AN "ACCIDENT DE PARCOURS."

8. U.N. FOREIGN MINISTER GENSCHER HAD TOLD SAUVAGNAR-
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GUES THAT THE INDIVIDUAL GOVERNMENTS SHOULD USE THEIR BILATERAL RELATIONS TO INFLUENCE DEVELOPMENTS IN THE UN. FOREIGN COUNTRIES SHOULD BE TOLD THAT HOSTILITIES AND CONFRONTATIONS IN THE INTERNATIONAL BODY SUCH AS THOSE WHICH HAD RECENTLY OCCURRED WILL INEVITABLY SPILL OVER INTO THE BILATERAL FIELD. GENSCHER HAD TOLD SAUVAGNARGUES THAT THIS WILL BECOME A STANDARD FRG ITEM FOR BILATERAL DISCUSSIONS. THE FRENCH AND GERMAN GOVERNMENTS HAD AGREED THAT THE MINISTERS WILL TAKE UP THE UN PROBLEM IN THEIR MEETING WITH THEIR EC COLLEAGUES ON THE 13TH OF FEBRUARY. THEY HAD ALSO NOTED THAT SEVERAL EUROPEAN CANDIDATES FOR THE PRESIDENCY OF THE UN WERE UNDER CONSIDERATION. IF ONE OF THEM WERE SELECTED, IT WOULD "FACILITATE MATTERS." BOTH GOVERNMENTS HAD AGREED THAT THEY WOULD KEEP THE U.S. INFORMED OF WHAT THEY WERE DOING IN THIS IMPORTANT AREA. WHILE VAN WELL NOTED THAT MOST OF THE REMARKS ABOUT THIS PROBLEM HAD BEEN PRESENTED BY GENSCHER, SAUVAGNARGUES HAD SAID THAT IT WAS APPROPRIATE FOR THE NINE TO DISCUSS THE MATTER AMONG THEMSELVES AND TO DO IT BILATERALLY WITH 3RD WORLD COUNTRIES AS WELL.
HILLENBRAND

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